PUDUKKOTTAI STATE

WAR INFORMATION BUREAU

BULLETIN] JANUARY 25, 1941 [No. 28

LECTURE XXVIII.

ECONOMICS AND THE WAR.

INTRODUCTORY. It is both strange and significant that, amid the present clash and clatter of arms, the combatants are so busy planning and legislating, despatching Trade Missions, holding Economic Conferences or entering into Trade Pacts. It is stranger still that instead of marshalled legions and serried ranks fronting and fighting it out with each other on the battle-field, it is factories and docks, stores and stocks, land and water ways, and the shipping on the seas that are being attacked and annihilated. Richard Coeur de Lion no longer meets Saladin under the date palm to settle disputes between nations; the battle-fronts have shifted to mines and workshops, to secretariats and factories. There has been a revolution in the theory of war. Mars looks like being replaced by Vulcan.

As I sit to write my speech, the day's newspaper which lies before me seems to be written all over with my subject. Here are some head lines. '500 attacks on the Ruhr Industrial area', 'Sabotage in French Factories'. As I glance at another column, I read 'Lease and Lend Bill', 'U. S. Building Programme'. On turning the page other captions meet the eye, 'Organised plunder of occupied countries,' 'Britain's Planned Economy', 'War Finance', 'New Savings Campaign',

'Hitler's Slave Labour Scheme', 'Italo—German Trade Talks'. These make an odd hotch-potch, but as you will soon see they cohere; and they constitute this evening's subject of Economic Warfare.

ECONOMIC WARFARE NOTHING NEW. Though its enormous ramifications are peculiar to to-day, the first principles of Economic Warfare are no new discovery. The strategy of siege and starvation is as old as human warfare. For centuries it was planned by the high command behind the fighting line and carried out by soldiers on the battle-field. BRITAIN'S naval Blockade in the days of Napoleon and Napoleon's counter-attack, known as the 'Continental System', are only recent instances. But it was the last war that revealed its greater possibilities.

THE LESSON OF THE LAST WAR. It came about this way. When BRITAIN entered the War of 1914 she had one tremendous weapon to hand, her Navy and the command of the sea-routes, by which she could paralyse the movements of German ships on every sea and ocean, leaving them the alternatives of scuttling, capture or refuge in a neutral port. Some think it a fallacy that an economic war can by itself lead to victory; but there are none who doubt that, effectively waged, it must hasten that day and here was proof positive. By the end of 1916 the Blockade had become so effective that all imports had been cut off and a famine broke out in central EUROPE followed by the 'Turnip-winter' of 1916–17. The civilian death-rate grew appallingly, and not all the counter-effort of intensified submarine attacks could prevent a collapse. Then came the Armistice of November 11, 1918.

Economic Warfare is the utilisation of all the country's resources in men, munitions and money, and is both offensive and defensive in intention. Unlike military operations the economic struggle must be carried on both in peace-time and war-time. In peace-time, defensive warfare consists of economic planning and reconstruction, the accumulation of reserves, and the invention of processes by which the country may be made self-sufficient. In war time it increases the output, extends finance, and economises consumption.

Offensive Economic Warfare implies blockade and counter-blockade, naval siege and submarine attack, as well as air raids on stocks, centres of production, transport and communications. It also

includes diplomatic and commercial pressure on Neutrals in order to divert supplies from the enemy.

MODERN WARS ARE LONG. Modern wars are long wars. They are 'Total' struggles in which the distinction between soldier and civilian is effaced; they mean conscription which does not spare even the women, mechanisation which has obliterated space, the art of fighting in three elements land, sea and air, and last but not least, immense stress on national credits, and endless juggling with finance. The quick result of the Abyssinian war was due to the deficiency of the Abyssinians in modern weapons; in fact it was not a modern war at all. On the other hand, the Civil War in SPAIN which lasted about two and a half years, and the Sino-Japanese war which is now forty-three months old, show how, when opponents are matched more or less equally, wars have a tendency to drag.

STUDY OF WAR ECONOMY. For this reason, and the correspondingly increased costs of modern wars, it is absolutely necessary even for a nation as peacefully minded as GREAT BRITAIN, to plan ahead. Consequently in BRITAIN the study of war economy had started before the outbreak of war and is now the portfolio of a separate Minister.

In GERMANY, for many years, war economy (Wehrwirtschaft) had been studied as a science, and a vast literature has grown round it. And no wonder. The fundamental concept of German Polity, as in old SPARTA, is of a military State to which all other interests must be subordinated. While in other countries, the military budget subserves those of production and trade, these peaceful avocations even in the older Reich, had been converted into handmaids of the military caste. And when the Nazis succeeded to power both the military community and the national industry became tools for world domination.

THE FOUR-YEAR PLAN. Marshal Goering's Four-year plan is the outcome of such study. It aims at nothing less than self-sufficiency, economic autarchy, by exploitation, substitution and invention. GERMANY, for instance, is deficient in iron and BRUNSWICK's mines contain only low-grade ore, large quantities of which, by reason of their poor iron content must be smelted at great expense by the employment of wasteful labour.

This is now deliberately carried out in GERMANY in the name of self-sufficiency. Substitution such as the use of porcelain for glass, or aluminium for copper is another device. By the invention of synthetic processes petrol and rubber, for example, are made from coal. Ingenious as these devices are they are highly expensive and wasteful of labour, and not half as satisfactory as the natural products. In time of war when both labour and money are scarce they constitute a terrible strain, but they are part of the national economic policy forced on GERMANY by world conditions.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN WAR.

One of the greatest differences between the War of 1914 and of 1939 is the transfer of emphasis from actual fighting to industries. In the last war the favourite theory was still that wars were won by man-power in the field, and that military conscription was ultimately inevitable. The present war has already shown that what is wanted is not military conscription so much as industrial conscription, the production of weapons, and ever more weapons, to increase the nation's striking power. 'We do not want large armies' says Mr. Churchill to AMERICA, but 'weapons, ships and aeroplanes.' The present war is, in short, not going to be won on the playing fields of ETON, but by a whole nation organised in thousands of industrial centres. Let me explain, in another way. With the application of the internal combustion engine to the business of killing, modern warfare has undergone an Industrial Revolution no less startling than the revolution in the nineteenth century which was brought about by steam. The German defeat of 1918 was due to the fact that man for man, the Allies had at that stage more guns, more shells, and more tanks than the enemy. In the present war, POLAND was defeated not so much by greater bravery or greater numbers as by a superiority in tanks and planes. In fact, it may be safely laid down that the future is only for those nations which are strong in metallurgical industries, and mechanical ingenuity and that modern warfare requires not only a front-line of fighters, but also a home-front of workers. It has been calculated that for every soldier at the front, at least five should work at home to equip him, and the present theory of man-power is therefore to put as many men as possible in the factories and send out a minimum of fighters to drive, manipulate and fire the weapons of destruction, manufactured by the home-front

INDUSTRY'S RESPONSIBILITIES; CIVILIAN NEEDS. The regimentation of Industry must go further. Nominal peace needs do not cease because there is a war on. Food, clothes, shelter, even entertainments, cannot be neglected. While *secondary* needs may and must be sacrificed in the interests of the fighting forces it would be folly to neglect the *primary* needs of the civlian population. In times of war a soldier may regard the civilian as a nuisance but the civilian must be kept fit if he is to grow food and make arms for the soldier; a half-starved civilian population behind the army is more dangerous than even the enemy in front. What satisfaction from winning a war does the victor get if his wife and children are sick or dead from starvation or disease. A well known example of such neglect was the revolt of the German civilian population in 1918, a revolt which compelled surrender even before the army was routed in the field. All humanitarian considerations apart, it is essential that Industry should simultaneously attend to the needs and comforts of the civilian population.

INDUSTRY AND FINANCE; 'BUSINESS AS USUAL'. Industry however, must primarily produce the sinews of war. and it must forge bullets of gold as well as those of iron. The Moloch of war is a glutton, who has to be unceasingly fed with increasing quantitites of gold. Imports of raw materials and munitions must be paid; new shipping must replace losses by U-Boat and mine; aeroplanes have to be multiplied. It is inevitable also, that in times of war exports fall owing to the transfer of workers to the front and the languishing of markets; and the trade balance is adversely affected. From the beginning of a war, such a rot must be arrested, and the remedy is 'business as usual', as for as is humanly possible.

STRUGGLE OF ECONOMIC SYSTEMS. It will thus be seen that modern warfare is essentially economic, that industrial and financial resources will, in the long run, decide the fate of nations. that the nations who can build the greater armaments have the more immediate striking power; and that, once the initial stock of armaments have been exhausted, the war will become a long struggle between economic systems.

ECONOMIC PLANNING. It is obvious, therefore, that a nation's man-power, and woman-power too, must be mobilised and trained at home at least as attentively as man-power in the trenches. Raw materials and money must be found—all in astronomical quantities—and the whole of civilian life must be organised to cope with unprecedented demand.

This inevitably requires careful planning, even to the conscription of labour, the nationalisation of industries, and the regimentation and direction of a whole community. Peace-time industries must be placed on a war footing; there must be coordination, rationalisation, amalgamation of industries. Restrictions must be imposed to prevent industrialists from profiteering and labour from striking or sabotage. Food reserves must be built, waste must be avoided by rationing, and the wealthier classes must forego luxuries. In many cases strict economies have to be introduced quite early on. GERMANY seems forced to almost sordid lengths in this direction, substituting dog's flesh for meat, making boots and jackets out of paper, collecting house-hold refuse for fodder, making grease from slops and soap from clay. To reduce the use of marine tonnage and avoid sea-risks, campaigns to increase agricultural output, and schemes like 'digging for victory' have to be conducted, and the public nursed and educated to appreciate the reasons.

Industries depend upon three factors—men, material, money. Let us examine these as they affect the present principal belligerents.

MEN. At first sight it would appear that GERMANY, from its size and population, has greater man-power at her command than the small British Islands. It at least apparent that after swallowing some eight countries on the continent, she has had the chance of augmenting her man-power. But BRITAIN is not merely a few small islands in the Atlantic, but a mighty Empire extending all over the world, of which a single component, such as INDIA, alone would outdo even Greater GERMANY in population, to say nothing of Dominions like CANADA, AUSTRALIA and SOUTH-AFRICA. To these are providentially being added the industrial man-power of the UNITES STATES, and the millions that inhabit Allied countries like EGYPT, IRAQ, and TURKEY. On the other hand the man-power that

GERMANY gets from the occupied countries is to greater or less degree forced labour. The Czechs, the Poles, the Danes and the Dutch who are being pressed into service work, metaphorically, under the lash, and this is already borne out by the fact that German labour itself has to be supplemented by women and pensioners. In a free, democratic state like BRITAIN, labour is far more spontaneous and willing.

There is also another factor against our enemy. GERMANY boasts that she can grow the major part of her food in her own home and continent, while BRITAIN buys and imports her food from warmer climates in return for her manufactures. But GERMANY, by having to employ so much of her man-power on agriculture, loses an equal number for her war-industries, while BRITAIN without this handicap is able to liberate a higher percentage of hands already trained in industry for war-production.

MATERIALS. A great advantage lies with GREAT BRITAIN in her possessions in every zone and climate. These can produce every material required for war or for peace, and by her command of the seas, the Mother country can transport these to her own shores. GERMANY, by reason of the blockade, can use only what she can grow or take out of her earth or what she can buy from her nearest continental neighbours.

While GERMANY for instance may grow enough food in a favourable season, her oil needs cannot be sufficiently met by synthetisation or even from her neighbours in RUMANIA and RUSSIA. Her iron deficiency cannot be sufficiently met from any exploitation under a Four-Year Plan or even by importation from SWEDEN. The loss of copper imports is a serious handicap to her war industries, as is also the cutting off of her supplies of nickel, chromite, tungsten, manganese, antimony and mercury. 'Buna' cannot take the place of rubber, of which she has none. Oil-seeds, whale fat, cotton, (so necessary for clothing and the manufacture of explosives) and coffee, cocoa and tea have all been completely cut off by the British blockade.

MONEY. I wish I had time to go into the very interesting problems of monetary policy in some detail but time forbids. Fiscal potential is measured not in terms of Government revenue but by the national income, by what the people earn. When a Government's normal income alone is inadequate to conduct

a huge modern war, it is evident that other sources must be explored. Taxation, Borrowing and Inflation are the three means known to finance. Taxation is a dircet demand on the present generation, and borrowing a demand on the next and many others after them. Inflation is a delusion, as it consists of the printing of large quantitites of paper-money—as much as or more than the Government credit will apparently stand at the moment—and making all Government payments with it. It does not of course create money, but by putting the semblance of more money into the market, 'inflation' makes money cheap and commodities costly. In war-time, as home production and imports are strictly limited, this abundance of false money naturally puts up prices and leads ultimately to epidemics of profiteering, and strikes.

Of the three methods, therefore, taxation is the most direct and honest. BRITAIN, in her usual sound and honest way, has taxed herself anew by raising her income-tax and introducing high surtax on incomes and Excess-profits tax on business profits. But it is a mistake to think that the whole deficit can be made by 'fancy' taxes on a few luxuries like a Rolls-Royce car. In a totalitarian war it is necessary that not only the richer few should be taxed to the maximum, but that plain honest taxes, loans and gifts must come from the plain honest millions, from the whole British Empire, from you and from me.

There is no doubt that the call of BRITAIN for help has met with a splendid and unprecedented response. Nations of the Commonwealth have vied with one another in their contributions, at once a measure of their love and regard for her. INDIA, in this matter, has played her part nobly, from Princes, who have bought aeroplanes in squadrons, down to the school boy and the cooly who have paid their utmost—an anna perhaps. Nor is BRITAIN at home afraid of the mounting war expenditure which in December 1939 reached the peak figure of £ 375 million, or of an average of £ 350 million a month. Last year she actually blamed her Chancellor for 'slowing down the rearmament tempo' by not taxing the country heavily enough! She already finds a third of her expenses by taxation, and her citizens have contributed huge sums through the War Savings Campaign, Savings Certificates, Defence Bonds and Bank and Postal Deposits.

President Roosevelt's 'Lease and Lend' Plan which is on the eve of sanction is bound to be an enormous financial asset to Britain. It is not that BRITAIN's credit is in any way weak or her total assets low. She

can, unassisted, fully stand the strain of war but since her resources, *in dollars*, with which American manufacturers must be paid are not unlimited, difficulties may arise and it is to prevent these, that President Roosevelt has devised a formula by which American factories will take up British orders as the orders of their own Government and payment will be made by BRITAIN either in dollars, or in kind. Some of such commodities may be returned or replaced after the end of the war. This will greatly ease the financial situation, and certainly serve to avoid 'inflation.'

From a financial point of view GERMANY'S position is definitely bad. Though her public debt is smaller than BRITAIN'S it is much larger than in 1914 and too heavy for her to bear. With their experience of 1920—25, the German people are terribly inflation-conscious. Dr. Schacht's attempts to check inflation by ruthless measures of price-control have failed. The Reichsmark, of course, has no international value. The Nazi economic system, based on the 'barter' principle, is a house of cards which cannot long withstand the shock of war. As soon as the German public becomes aware that the Nazis are going to be worsted in the fight there will be a panicky flight from the 'mark' and the economic morale will collapse.

I have dwelt at some length on men, material and money, because they constitute the fundamentals of war economics, and are the tripod on which the war machine is built. Let us now consider economic war in its offensive aspect.

OFFENSIVE ECONOMIC WARFARE.

The blockade that BRITAIN has imposed upon GERMANY is a long distance blockade, effected by checking for contraband all marine transport at its very origin by the system of Navicerts.

Strictly and technically speaking, BRITAIN'S policy is not a blockade at all but only the application of the International Law of contraband control. GERMANY'S attempted counter is submarine piracy on the high seas.

There have been criticisms, no doubt, of the British Blockade on legal, ethical and economic grounds, but it may be stated at once that, through the ages warfare has always involved both civilian and soldier. In a siege, for example, the besieger is under no obligation to feed the beleagured. The laws of blockade are not, and cannot be, sentimental.

MALIGNERS. But there are critics who would charge BRITAIN with cruelty. Is the blockade not a war on women and children, they ask. Will it not strengthen the Isolationist argument, will it not provide an excuse for Nazi piracy or the bombing of civilian populations? Is there a difference between the killing of civilians by bombing, and killing them by hunger-blockade? Should not Hoover's Plan of Relief be given a chance?

Sentimentally, these arguments have a certain force; they are so seducingly sympathetic that the unwary listener may fall into a trap. But the main plea is untenable, and I hope to prove this by asking a few other questions:—

1. What is the distinction between food and armament—between 'butter' and 'guns'?

2 What is the distinction between civilian and military populations?

3. How far will the blockade starve GERMANY?

1. In war-economics there is hardly a distinction between food and armament. Fat, which is so essential as food, is also the cheapest and most convenient material for making propellants. Marshal Goering's famous alternative of 'guns' or 'butter' is not a figure of speech but a fact. Ever since 1932 when the Nazis came into power, that is, years before the British blockade began, GERMANY had been producing more and more fat, and the German people, like Oliver Twist, have also been asking for more and more butter. But the war machine has swallowed it all! To allow GERMANY now to import food, oil-seeds, bacon, or butter in the name of food would be merely to supply her with essential propellants.

Wheat, and other grains, potato and sugar-cane, owing to their starch content, can be used to make alcohol, which is a fuel for tanks and lorries as well as a solvent for explosives. They will also yield acetone and glycerine.

Similarly fish, milk, eggs, fruits and vegetables can be converted into nitro-glycerine. As the City Editor of the *Sunday Times* has graphically put it, 'LONDON might one day be bombed by an aeroplane made of milk, and driven by potatoes, while the bombs themselves would be filled with butter'.

Food and armament are thus interchangeable, and it would be folly to lift the blockade on food in the vague name of humanity, when to do it would be to arm your enemy with war-essentials.

2. What is the distinction between civilian and military population?

In a 'Total' war, no one is really peaceful. Even you and I, in distant PUDUKKOTTAI, make and hear warlike speeches. The women who turn shells, the miner who digs coal, the weaver who makes textiles with which to buy munitions from abroad, the very propagandists who work to keep up the nation's morale, in fact, all men and women rendering war service, are more or less in the fighting line, though they may not wear a uniform.

Even if a distinction could be made between these populations, there is no guarantee that food released from the blockade would reach the civilian, or even relieve the military pressure upon him. Propagandists of the Hoover Plan should know that while GERMANY boasts of a record crop of potatoes (70,000,000 tons), this year she has also confiscated the whole potato crop of JUTLAND and 30, 000 tons of it from NORWAY !

3. How far will the Blockade starve GERMANY?

In respect of bread-grains, wheat and rye, GERMANY may be deemed self-sufficient; unforeseen deficiency may be made up from contiguous countries, by RUMANIA and HUNGARY, BULGARIA and RUSSIA. In carbo-hydrates, potatoes, sugar and meat also GERMANY is self-supporting. In respect of fats she will have enough if they are not diverted to war purposes. In fact, the German position is that she *has enough either for a peaceful civilian population or her military wants, but not for both.* She can feed only the one or the other. The choice for Hitler is either to under-feed his people or under-feed his guns. *Why* should BRITAIN oblige him by lifting the blockade?

Here too, lies the essential moral difference between the British Blockade and the Nazi air-raid on women and children. Hitler *can* feed his people, if he prefers their welfare to *his* guns. BRITAIN certainly is in no way responsible, for the air-raiding of her civilian population. It is a Nazi savagery, for which Hitler alone is responsible before man and God.

ONE LAST QUESTION. If the British Blockade is not a hunger blockade, is it effective? The answer is an emphatic 'Yes'. The self-sufficiency which GERMANY boasts of to-day will disappear sooner or later because of Nazism itself. It must be remembered that from 1935, Nazi war threats have kept EUROPE in a high state of tension. Most of the continental soldiers who are also cultivators were called to arms on the eve of the harvest of 1938 and at sowing time in 1939. In 1940 the fields have been abandoned for the battle-fronts. Forçed and imported labour which is now employed is bound to fail. POLAND is disorganised; in occupied FRANCE, cultivation has been ruined by denuding the country-side of horses and cattle and live-stock. In HOLLAND, BELGIUM, DENMARK and NORWAY animals are slaughtered to feed German soldiers. Such a holocaust cannot continue very long.

Secondly, the blockade *does* effectively cut off armament-making materials such as oil, butter, copper, nickel and rubber. Artificial petrol will not meet the needs of a total war. An oil famine has already set in and any barrels which still withstand the R. A. F. raids are actually being scraped!

The British control of the sea means not only that the enemy's shipping has been swept from the trade routes, but that smuggling through neutral countries has been stopped, since these are being allowed supplies on a peace-time basis only.

It is also clear from statistics that GERMANY'S continental neighbours such as RUSSIA cannot supply all her needs for the reason that they themselves either do not possess certain of these essential commodities, or else cannot spare them. Not all the advertisement of Molotov's visits, not all the Russo-German Pacts in the world, can solve this problem. Even if they could, GERMANY has neither gold, nor exports, nor foreign exchange, nor national assets to buy with. She has no sterling. Her mark has no currency value outside GERMANY. It must be 'blocked', that is to say it can be used only *in barter*. Remember also that recent English Trade Treaties have closed many a market—those of EGYT, TURKEY, GREECE, in addition the whole BRITISH EMPIRE, and probably, thanks to our grand old Ex-Viceroy, Lord Willingdon, those of Latin AMERICA also.

STOCKS. It was part of the Four-Year Plan to build up great stocks of such commodities as GERMANY can neither produce nor buy. Quantities have been kept secret. It is also true she had a stroke of luck with a bumper crop in 1938 and, if we can take the word of the German—she is well equipped with wheat for two years. But any reserve can last only for a limited time and must be exhausted in a prolonged war.

Set against this advantage is the peril that commodity reserves are peculiarly vulnerable to air raids. If BRITAIN were to lose any of her stocks in this way they can be replenished from overseas. In the case of GERMANY, the loss is irreplaceable.

BLOODLESS INVASION. Faced by this difficulty GERMANY is trying to set up 'Puppet' Governments in the Danubian and Balkan States which will place their food and raw materials, at her disposal. It is not to the interest of GERMANY to invade these countries as it would interfere with normal production. Take RUMANIA, for instance, which is a noticeable victim of this bloodless invasion. So long as sufficient quantities of grain and oil are forthcoming, GERMANY prefers peaceful infiltration to any open attack. The obvious consideration is that long before an invading army reached the oil-fields, the wells would have been destroyed!

In a desperate gamble, GERMANY is also offering 'fancy' prices for her requirements, though no one knows how she is ultimately going to pay. In such cases, economic warfare consists in offering still higher prices. In the last war large quantities of wheat were bought by BRITAIN in RUMANIA but, since there were difficulties in exporting them, they were destroyed. The operation was a dead loss financially, but it was worth while, since the alternative was that GERMANY would seize them.

The last war came after 43 *fat* years for GERMANY, from 1871 to 1914. On the contrary, the present war has come after some 25 *lean* years—the inflation period of about 5 years after the last war, followed by 8 years of shortage of capital, 2 years of further inflation, and 6 years of 'guns' instead of 'butter'. It seems inevitable that any further shortage of food must produce even a quicker and more devastating effect than in the last war.

And it is going to be a famine not only of food but of munitions. The British Blockade has cut off three-quarters of the supply of copper, one third of iron, three- quarters of oil, all her rubber, nearly all her cotton and wool, two-thirds of maize and all oil-seeds and all butter. The R. A. F. is supplementing the work of the naval blockade by domolishing the stocks where reserves are. hidden, the factories where the infernal machines are forged, and the highways by which they are transported. German war industry is being annihilated from all sides, and from above! The more her present output is accelerated, the sooner will come her exhaustion. By no expedient whatsoever can she evade the pressure of the Blockade. By merely indigenous effort she certainly cannot secure all that she requires either for the needs of her civilian population or for war; as the struggle progresses the Blockade will become a stranglehold. Slowly and surely its coils constrict. As its embrace tightens, it will kill. There is no escape.

WEEKLY WAR SUMMARY.

16—1—41 to 22—1--41.

THE FALL OF TOBRUK.

NEWS has just arrived of the fall of TOBRUK. According to a Government Headquarters message from CAIRO the attack started on Wednesday morning; a subsequent SYDNEY message says that the place fell in the afternoon. The Australians led the attack.

THE CAPTURE OF KASSALA.

Another British victory of the week is the capture of KASSALA, a strongly defended post at the head of the important rail and road routes to ERITREA and ABYSSINIA. The Italians occupied it 15 months ago but since November harassing operations have been carried on unceasingly by British and Indian troops. The place was captured on the 7th. The Italian garrison numbering between 5,000 and 8,000 evacuated it on the 17th and are being pursued.

THE BRITISH MISSION IN ABYSSINIA.

In July last a handful of British officers crossed the frontier and entered ABYSSINIA. With splended patience and daring they trekked into the heart of the country with a convoy of arms, and established themselves in the interior, some 400 miles away from the frontier. They have since raised an army of Abyssinians and trained them in the use of modern arms. It is now ready to strike. This is a separate force from Hailé Selassié's own army, now under training in the SUDAN.

PATRIARCHAL BLESSINGS.

The revolt in ABYSSINIA is gathering momentum. News from KHARTOUM reveals that the Emperor's recent announcement that he would lead the revolt in person has greatly strengthened the movement. Forces including the Gallas of southern ABYSSINIA, the chiefs of LAKE TANA, and even the negroes, are massing at GAJJAM.

Meanwhile the Emperor has sought benediction from the Head of the Coptic Christian Church at CAIRO and the 91-year old Patriarch has

given his blessing with the words, 'My whole Church desires BRITAIN'S victory. We put our trust in Almighty God and then in GREAT BRITAIN'.

THE GREEK OFFENSIVE.

Snow and rain have not halted the Greek advance. Some 45 different positions have already been taken in the Central Sector alone. The latest success is the occupation of the heights of Stoem in the Ostravitsa range. VALONA is in ruins and can no longer be used as a port. 16,000 Italian prisoners have been captured in ALBANIA.

THE MEDITERRANEAN INCIDENTS.

British naval forces covering the passage of convoys in the Central Mediterranean were suddenly attacked on the morning of January 10 by Italian and German planes including dive bombers. In the course of the attack *H. M. S. Illustrious* was damaged and *H. M. S. Southampton* received hits. A fire broke out on board the latter ship and could not be controlled. As she could not be towed she had to be sunk, by our own guns, and becomes a total loss.

But the main object of the Navy which was that of safeguarding the convoy, has been successfully carried out. The convoy which carried important war material to GREECE has reached its destination safely.

H. M. S. Southampton is the first large warship to be the victim of air attack during this war. Though its loss is to be regretted, there is no reason, as Lord Chatfield has stated, 'to be unduly concerned'. Indeed we should take confidence from the fact that with all the boasted advantage of the aeroplane over the battleship, so far only a single warship has been lost in 18 months of aerial warfare.

Out of evil cometh good. The incident has fortunately revealed the existence of a Nazi 'nest' in SICILY stationed to interrupt supplies to GREECE and EGYPT, in the narrow straits between SICILY and PANTELLARIA. From this lair the enemy has since raided MALTA also, half a dozen times But swift punishment has already followed in good measure. In addition to 12 machines lost in the naval action, CATANIA, the Sicilian air base, has been raided twice, on Sunday and Wednesday, and aircraft numbering between 30 and 40 have been destroyed.

MALTA defences, too, have taken a heavy toll. 35 planes have been destroyed in raids over the island. The total German loss in the Mediterranean during these 8 days is 87 machines.

The present Nazi adventure seems to be inspired by a desire to stop British supplies to GREECE and relax the stranglehold upon the Italians in ABYSSINIA, by separating the British squadrons in the eastern and western basins of the Mediterranean. The first raid was a surprise attack; the R. A. F. and the Navy will now see to it that the project is foredoomed.

Italian prestige has never been so low as it is now. Even the partial success in the Mediterranean, though Italian planes were present, was mainly due to the daring of the German dive-bombers. SICILY, for all practical purposes, is now German territory, heavily occupied by German troops, planes and technicians.

THE FATE OF ITALY.

As the Rome Radio itself admits, the Italian Empire is now virtually cut off from the mother country and her economic and military position is desperate and humiliating. Mussolini, hoping perhaps that GERMANY would do the fighting and ITALY share the spoils, entered the war less equipped than he pretended. Now ITALY is almost without coal and iron, and at the mercy of the Nazi, who has already begun to play the overlord in ROME. She is only one more country to experience the truth that Hitler is as formidable to his allies as to his enemies. In the 'New Order' ITALY is rapidly sinking to the status of a slave-state. Unless she returns to British friendship she will only complete her enslavement and rivet her own chains.

The return of Mr. Willlam Phillips as UNITED STATES' Ambassador to ROME seems to imply an endeavour to get first-hand information about ITALY, and save her, if possible, from the clutches of the Nazi tyrant. Patently ignoring Mussolini, he brings a letter from President Roosevelt to King Emmanuel in token of American friendship.

Trade talks are in progress between ITALY and GERMANY for which purpose Dr. Clodius, the German trade envoy, is visiting ROME with a staff of 35 assistants. The talks will fix import and export quotas and relate to coal shortage and transport problems. ITALY has already placed all her railways at GERMANY's disposal.

During the week Hitler met Mussolini somewhere in GERMANY in the presence of Ciano and Ribbentrop. Though the purpose of the meeting is not divulged, it is fairly obvious that it must be to discuss the extent of succour to be extended to Mussolini.

THE LEASE AND LEND BILL.

The Aid-to-Britain Bill has reached the stage of examination, and the Committee for Foreign Affairs in the UNITED STATES House of Representatives is taking important evidence.

Mr. Cordell Hull, the UNITED STATES Secretary of State, the first witness to be examined, was uncompromising in his denunciation of the Axis, and particulary, of JAPAN. JAPAN's New Order, he declared, was only a selfish expansionist policy, aiming at the exploitation and enslavement of the Orient. So ambitious a programme in the East was bound to be of great concern to the whole world. Referring to his own country, he pointed out that if BRITAIN were defeated and lost command of the sea, GERMANY could cross over to SOUTH AMERICA and strike northwards. The members of the Tripartite Pact had made their intentions to dominate by conquest, and destroy existing civilisation, abundantly clear. It would be foolish to wait until the invader had crossed the boundary.

Colonel Frank Knox, Secretary for the Navy, was emphatic in declaring that, if ENGLAND were to go down, AMERICA also would be destroyed. It was only with the support of BRITAIN and her fleet that AMERICA had been able to maintain Monroe Doctrine during the last 125 years. In the last war she needed but a one-ocean navy because BRITAIN guarded the Atlantic. If BRITAIN collapsed, a two-ocean navy must be built, which would take 6 years. BRITAIN therefore must be helped now, if only to save AMERICA.

Mr. Stimson, Secretary for War, deposed that the essence of the bill was to vest in the UNITED STATES sole authority for the purchase and distribution of the principal allied war materials.

Mr. William Knudsen, Director of the National Defence Board, declared that the Bill must be passed as part of an American Defence programme, and regretted the delay in passing it.

Mr. Henry Morganthau, Secretary to the Treasury, pointed out that while BRITAIN could pay cash for all her purchases up to date she would be short of dollar exchange for future orders, in spite of her owning total dollar exchange assets in the UNITED STATES to the tune of £ 442 millions.

Important voices have been heard in support of the bill outside the Legislative Chamber also.

Mr. Joseph Kennedy in a broadcast disowned the label of appeaser which some had attached to him and said that he denied the charge that he had recommended a deal with the Dictators. He advocated 'utmost' aid to BRITAIN, and even a 'declaration of war' if AMERICA was ready for it.

Mr. Wendell Wilkie, Mr. Roosevelt's rival in the late election, declared his complete agreement with the Bill, in his own broadcast to the Americans, in which he said 'We shall not preserve this great standard by withdrawing within ourselves. It is only in expanding trade, in opening world markets, and in the peace that will come after the crushing of the Dictatorships, that AMERICA can reach its true developments.' Speaking over the telephone to the Lodon *Daily Express*, he desired to aid BRITAIN 'to the very limit' and said that 90 per cent. of his people were in favour of it. Mrs. Wilkie ignoring the odd 10 per cent. added "We're *all* for BRITAIN".

Roosevelt's inaugural address, delivered at the ceremony of his taking of the oath as President, on January 20, is a classic utterance on the principles of Democracy. 'Lives of nations,' he said, 'are determined not by the count of years but by the life-time of the human spirit. The life of man is three-score years and ten, a little more, a little less. The life of a nation is the fulness of the measure of its will to live.

'Democracy is the produce of centuries. It is not a recent production of the human factory. It is man's history. It permeated the ancient life of every people. It lived even in the Middle Ages. It was written in Magna Carta.

'In the face of perils never before encountered our strong purpose is to strengthen and perpetuate the integrity of Democracy. We shall not retreat. We are not content to stand still. As Americans we go forward in the service of our country by the Will of God.'

OTHER AMERICAN MATTERS.

Sanction is sought from Congress for a sum of 313 million dollars to build a fleet of 200 merchant ships, and of 909 million dollars to build 400 submarine chasers, mine-sweepers and torpedo boats

Proposals are in progress to appoint a Minister, as well as an ambassador, of the UNITED STATES to BRITAIN, in order to give effect to the British Aid Bill. The appointees may not be so much diplomats, as experts in Defence programmes.

Mr. Wendell Wilkie who is shortly going to ENGLAND takes a personal message with him from President Roosevelt to Mr. Churchill.

An Anglo-Bolivian Agreement to secure larger supplies of tin, wolfram and antimony to BRITAIN has been concluded after a six day visit of the British Trade Mission.

JAPAN.

JAPAN's reaction to the British Aid Bill is reflected in the speech made by Mr. Matsuoka, Foreign Minister, at the reopening of the Diet. He shed crocodile tears over the loss of American friendship and implored AMERICA not to become involved in a world war which would endanger the peace of the Pacific and the world.

FRANCE.

GERMANY is trying hard to secure the return of Laval to power. Reports have arrived of a meeting between him and Petain, in which their old differences have been 'smoothed out.' There is likely to be another reshuffle of the Petain Government, with the object of concentrating power in a small Directorate.

The rich fields of occupied FRANCE are meanwhile despoiled of their abundance by the Germans Trainloads of produce are exported daily. British sentiment is growing in FRANCE and Mr. Duff Cooper's broadcast of the 14th strikes a note of genuine reciprocal friendship. He said;

"London and Paris are the two greatest cities of Europe

"From them has come forth all that is best in modern European civilisation and they both held, within their walls, the traditions and love of the two great peoples that inhabit them. We, here in London, often feel sad these days.

"When we see ancient structures demolished, we feel angry but we also feel proud, and how infinitely more gladly do we witness this wicked, wanton destruction than we would witness what is happening in Paris, if we were Frenchmen, to-day.

"Paris is unshaken, her beauty is undiminished, her buildings all standing where they have stood for so long, but German soldiers mount guard.

"Over the remains of Napoleon, German officers swagger down the French boulevards and German women cover themselves with French finery, for which the French are obliged to accept fraudulent and worthless German marks.

"Believe me, the Londoner's lot is easier to bear than that of the Parisian who must envy us our wounds to-day and who, in the days to come, will gaze with awe and veneration upon our scars."

OCCUPIED COUNTRIES.

BELGIUM's fate is just as bad. GERMANY, like the Robber Baron of old, loots the fields and the farmyards. Belgian cattle and horses are shipped away, all stocks of potatoes and butter have been plundered. The Gestapo is active and the country is ruled by improvised decrees.

POLAND.

Food conditions in POLAND are deplorable. In general, the Poles are allowed only two-thirds of the rations allotted to the Germans. A million and a half Poles have been expropriated in six months. Executions are ordered for possession of arms. Anti-German feeling and sabotage are increasing.

THE BALKANS.

Communists and Iron Guard dissidents attempted a *coup d' état* against Antonescu's Government on January 20, which resulted in heavy casualties, including the death of a number of Germans. The Minister for the Interior has resigned. According to the latest reports there have been further pitched battles, though the composition of the antagonists is far from clear.

BULGARIA.

Col. William Donovan, President Roosevelt's special envoy, has arrived at SOFIA with a personal message from the President to King Boris.

RUSSIA.

The problem of stopping supplies reaching GERMANY through RUSSIA across the Pacific is being tackled by the Ministry of Economic Warfare. In the last two months, for example, RUSSIA has imported twice as much cotton as she normally takes in a whole year from all sources.

FAR-EAST.

THAI warships are reported to have 'routed' and 'damaged' FRENCH ships in the Gulf of Siam. Contrary reports that 'two THAI war vessels were sunk and a third damaged' have also arrived.

1,000 THAILAND troops are also reported to have 'operated' in PAK-LAI in INDO-CHINA and to have been 'repulsed'.

In CHINA bitter fighting is reported at ICHANG and TUNGCHING.

BRITAIN AND EIRE.

The Cabinet Committee appointed to investigate post-war reconstruction and peace-problems has made considerable progress and will publish a report shortly.

Mr. Ernest Bevin declared in the House of Commons his early intention to introduce a bill amounting to conscription of Labour. He proposes, he said, to use his powers 'directorially', but not 'dictatorially'. Two days have been set apart for the debate, and its details will be reported in the next week's bulletin.

Though EIRE calls herself neutral, the effect of her neutrality is definitely adverse to BRITAIN. While the lights of Eire guide the German planes, harbour is denied to the British Navy. BRITAIN could doubtless seize Irish ports, but for the time being she prefers to respect the laws of neutrality to the limit of tolerance. Nine ships of Irish Registration have been already lost. Eire is short of petrol and tea.

AIR-RAIDS.

A statement of air raids is annexed.

R. A. F. Raids over GERMANY, GERMAN-occupied EUROPE, ITALY, ITALIAN AFRICA and ALBANIA.

Date.	Targets.	Allied aircraft and R. A. F. losses.	Enemy aircraft losses and results of air bombardment.
12—1—41. (Sunday.)			
	ITALIAN AFRICA.		
	Aerodromes at BERKA and BENINA...	...	Many planes on the ground put out of action.
	Barracks and Defences at DERNA ...	...	Set on fire.
	Aerodromes at ASMARA, BARANTU and AGORDAT.	No loss.	...
	ITALY.		
	The air base at CATANIA (SICILY) ...	...	Heavily damaged 9 planes. 30 to 40 planes damaged.
13—1—41. (Monday).			
	GERMANY and GERMAN-occupied EUROPE.		
	DAY :—		
	Patrol operations ...	1 plane.	...
	NIGHT :—		
	Naval ordnance works, Docks and the Submarine base at LORIENT.	...	Battered.
	Targets in the DUNKIRK Area ...	No loss.	Fires started.
	ALBANIA.		
	Military concentrations at BERAT ...	...	Heavily damaged.
	ITALIAN AFRICA.		
	Motor transport concentrations at TESSENEI.	...	...
	The harbour at BENGHAZI (LIBYA) ...	No loss.	...
14—1—41. (Tuesday).			
	GERMANY and GERMAN-occupied EUROPE.		
	Enemy air bases at MANDAL and FORUS.	...	...

Date.	Targets.	Allied aircraft & R. A. F. losses.	Enemy aircraft losses and results of air bombardment.
14—1—41.	**(Tuesday)**—*cont.*		
	GERMANY and GERMAN-occupied EUROPE—*cont.*		
	A motor ship in STAVANGER ROADS	...	...
	An important railway bridge in NORWAY.	No loss.	...
	ITALIAN AFRICA.		
	The harbour, Government buildings and shipping at BENGHAZI (LIBYA).	...	Buildings damaged. Very heavy damage.
	The aerodrome at BENNIA	...	2 planes.
	Military stores at ASSAB	1 plane.	Set on fire.
15—1—41.	**(Wednesday).**		
	GERMANY and GERMAN-occupied EUROPE.		
	The main base of the GERMAN NORTH SEA FLEET at WILHELMSHAVEN.	...	Very huge fires started; explosions heard; heavily damaged.
	The Docks at EMDEN, BREMERHAVEN, ROTTERDAM and FLUSHING.	...	Fires started.
	The harbour at BREST (FRANCE) ...	...	...
	Aerodromes and other targets in North-West GERMANY and HOLLAND.	...	Damaged.
	ITALY.		
	The aerodrome at CATANIA (SICILY).	...	Fires started; heavy damage.
16—1—41.	**(Thursday.)**		
	GERMANY and GERMAN-occupied EUROPE.		
	The GERMAN Naval base at WILHELMSHAVEN.	...	Battered.
	Docks at EMDEN, BOULOGNE and CALAIS.	...	...
	The Railway Junction at OSTEND (NORWAY).	...	...
	An aerodrome in occupied FRANCE ...	...	Damaged.

Date.	Targets.	Allied aircraft & R. A. F. losses.	Enemy aircraft losses and results of air bombardment.
16—1—41. (Thursday)—*cont.*			
	DODECANESE.		
	An Italian base in the DODECANESE.	...	...
	ITALIAN AFRICA.		
	Military barracks at DERNA. ...	...	...
	Military buildings at TOBRUK ...	...	Main wharf hit.
	Patrol over the WESTERN DESERT.	No loss.	1 plane.
	The aerodrome at MARTIZA (RHODES)	...	...
	A large workshop of the CAPRONI works in the MAIMAGA Area (Italian East AFRICA).	...	Direct hits registered.
	ASSAB, BERBERA and **ZEILA** ...	1 plane.	Heavily damaged.
17—1—41. (Friday).			
	GERMANY and GERMAN-occupied EUROPE		
DAY :—			
	The GERMAN invasion bases along the FRENCH coast.	...	Battered.
	Four ships off the DUTCH coast ...	...	Direct hits on all.
	ITALIAN AFRICA.		
	Petrol dumps and the town's defences in TOBRUK.	...	1 plane.
	A large transport yard at ASSAB ...	...	...
	Military buildings at HARGEISA ...	...	...
	An enemy camp 5 miles east of UMHAGGAR.	...	...
	ASMARA ...	...	...
18—1—41. (Saturday.)			
	GERMANY and GERMAN-occupied EUROPE.		
	No air activity to-day ...	...	...

Date.	Targets.	Allied aircraft & R. A. F. losses.	Enemy aircraft losses and results of air bombardment.
18—1—41. (Saturday)—*cont.*			
	ITALIAN AFRICA.		
	Reconnaissance and patrol in the forward area in LIBYA.	...	No Italian opposition.
	A motor transport and gun positions South-East of TESSENEI.	...	Heavy damage.
	MASSAWA, ASSAB and **HARGEISA**	No loss.	...
19—1—41. (Sunday.)			
	ITALIAN AFRICA.		
	A supply depot at ASSAB ...	...	Set on fire.
	Vehicles in a park at NEGHELLI ...	...	Fires started.
	ITALY.		
	BRINDISI ...	...	...

Enemy Raids over BRITAIN, BRITISH Territories, GREECE and ALBANIA (under Greek occupation).

Date.	Targets.	Enemy aircraft losses.	R. A. F. & Allied aircraft losses and results of air bombardment.
10—1—41. (Friday.)			
	MEDITERRANEAN.		
	British convoy in the SICILIAN CHANNEL.	An Italian destroyer sunk. 10 planes.	"SOUTHAMPTON" a total loss. "Illustrious" slightly damaged.
14—1—41. (Tuesday).			
	BRITAIN.		
	No raid throughout the day and night.	...	...
15—1—41. (Wednesday).			
	BRITAIN.		
	NIGHT :—		
	LONDON area. **A few areas** in the MIDLANDS and East ENGLAND.	...	Fires which started were soon put down. A few casualties and slight damage.

Date.	Targets.	Enemy aircraft losses.	R. A. F. & Allied aircraft losses and results of air bombardment.
15—1—41.	**(Wednesday.)**—*cont.*		
	MEDITERRANEAN.		
	MALTA (six raids in a single day) ...	...	Only civilian property damaged.
16—1—41.	**(Thursday.)**		
	BRITAIN.		
	NIGHT :—		
	LONDON area ; **a town** in West ENGLAND and **another town** in West COUNTY.	...	Fires started but soon put out. A few casualties.
	MEDITERRANEAN.		
	MALTA	10 planes.	Some damaged.
17—1—41.	**(Friday.)**		
	BRITAIN.		
	NIGHT :—		
	SWANSEA and **a few other places** in South WALES ; **two other towns** in ENGLAND including DEVON. LONDON (only an alert).	... ...	Houses and buildings damaged. Fires started and a few casualties.
	PALESTINE.		
	Aerodromes at TEL AVIV ...	...	No damage or casualties.
	BRITISH AFRICA.		
	CAIRO and **ALEXANDRIA** (only two alerts).	...	...
	Targets in SUEZ Canal zone ...	...	No damage.
18—1—41.	**(Saturday.)**		
	BRITAIN.		
	DAY :—		
	LONDON Outskirts ; **a passenger train** in East ANGLIA and a few places in East KENT.	...	No damage or casualties. A few passengers killed. Elsewhere no damage.
	NIGHT :—		
	No air activity ...	...	...

Date.	Targets.	Enemy aircraft losses.	R. A. F. & Allied aircraft losses and results of air bombardment.
18—1—41.	**(Saturday.)**—*cont.*		
	MEDITERRANEAN.		
	Aerodromes at MALTA	5 planes.	A few casualties but no deaths.
19—1—41.	**(Sunday.)**		
	BRITAIN.		
DAY :—			
	ENGLISH CHANNEL and an East Coast Town.	1 plane.	Only few casualties; no damage.
NIGHT :—			
	SOUTHAMPTON; **a town** in West ENGLAND; **a town** in West MIDLANDS and **another town** in East ANGLIA.	5 planes.	Fires started but soon put down. Slight damage.
	MEDITERRANEAN.		
	The harbour at MALTA... ...	15 planes.	No serious damage.
20—1—41.	**(Monday).**		
	BRITAIN.		
NIGHT :—			
	A number of points in South and South-East ENGLAND.	...	Damage not heavy; casualties few.
	LONDON area ...	...	...
	GREECE.		
	Dog fights over PIRAEUS (the port of ATHENS).	1 plane.	1 plane; some houses destroyed.

SIDE LIGHTS.

Be Selective. ....in your deductions from your war-reading! When big events take place, such as General Wavell's great campaign, or President Roosevelt's great speech, the Axis gasps—for the moment doubled up. It is as though a boxer takes a hefty blow on the midriff. He has to pause while his seconds fan him. Those currents of air are what we warn you against, and in the newspapers they often take the form of messages from "neutral News Agencies".

Official sceptics have made a study of these, from the invasion of NORWAY to the invasion of GREECE, and it is extraordinarily interesting to recognise examples of the same technique in various disguises at each pause or crisis in the world-war. An obvious case is the way in which GERMANY or ITALY first let the world know that they contemplate another dacoity. Their Fifth Column in the territory of the intended victim start hinting to the local 'Opposition' that BRITAIN is contemplating an invasion, or a blockade, or a rape of their merchant-vessels in foreign ports, or some such clap-trap. The papers are urged to take the matter up, and.........the world is suddenly informed that in order to avoid such 'outrages', the Axis Powers have 'taken over government in the interests of public security', or taken steps to ensure the return to the loving bosom of the motherland, a national minority in grave danger of annihilation owing to the machinations of the Democracies or have bombed the local King as he flees his capital.

That sort of "well-informed neutral opinion" is familiar to all of us. But there are less flagrant pronouncements of which we should do well to beware. They are equally 'inspired', and the layman, avid for war news, can hardly be blamed for enjoying and discussing them.

Propaganda Tricks. Let us examine one or two. At the beginning of the Italo-Greek campaign, the main Axis publicity lines were these:—

(a) Exaggerated or untrue stories of British landings in GREECE. *Object.* Subsequent contradiction would dishearten the Greeks.

(b) Confident, circumstantial yarns that GREECE was about to capitulate anyway. *Object.* The undermining of Greek morale.

(c) Publication of "documentary proof"(!) that BRITAIN already had an agreement with GREECE whereby they could occupy Greek territorial waters. *Object.* That Britain would be held responsible for Italian 'self-defence' action in invading GREECE.

These were handed out to "neutral agencies" as being received from "High Greek circles in CAIRO", or "BELGRADE, ex-SALONIKA", or "Greek circles in BELGRADE"—when of course they came from Goebbels' office!

SWITZERLAND, too, harboured papers that would publish similar tripe, not quoting the same sources, but inserting the news-gobbets under false date-lines and places of origin, "ANKARA, Oct. 7", or "ATHENS, Nov. 4", and so on.

Precisely the same game is being played at the moment. German-inspired rumours with headlines denoting various decrees of "well-informed publicity" are being sent to neutral capitals, for onward despatch, under faked dates. Examine your dates, but above all examine the source, of your news. Foreign agency reports, more particularly those emanating from areas under Axis influence must be taken with several grains of salt.

The Fox and the Grapes. Hitler, and the French Fleet. We hear no this morning's radio the first of the results of that intensive pressure which Hitler has been bringing upon Marshal Petain, namely the 'reconciliation' between the latter and Laval, and that beauty's resumption of the Vice-Presidentship of FRANCE Before we go to press, there may be 'political sequels'.

We must now wait with avidity for the earliest mention of the remainder of the French Navy, for, as we tried to show in 'Side Lights' last week, this may be the crux of the situation.

For a long time we have been trying to find out the shape of a few of the 'grapes' in that bunch at which the vulpine Fuehrer has stared so long and so hungrily. Here is some information which has recently come to hand; it is hardly comprehensive, but it is interesting.

The battleship "*Strasbourg*" is at TOULON, as are the cruisers, "*Galissionere*", "*Jean de Yienne*" and "*Marseillaise*".

At DAKAR, lies the battleship "*Richelieu*" and those cruisers and destroyers which were enough to thwart General de Gaulle.

We hammered the battleship "*Dunkerque*" in ORAN harbour, but that was a long time ago, and we read that repairs were being immediately under-taken.

About ALEXANDRIA we have no information, but the Tricolor must be flying from several hulls there, too.

Well, the fox has his feet on a projecting ledge, and his neck is stretched well out towards the inviting-looking fruit. Let us just sit tight, and hope that the grapes are very sour.

* * * * * *

Facts from figures. Never having had any money to invest, the progress of the stock-market, or the fortunes of Government Bonds, or Loans and so on, generally leave me cold. But there are some quite obvious deductions to be made from recent 'finance' at Home, among them the cheering one that the 'small man' hasn't the least doubt which way the war will end, or that our Government will handle his savings to the best advantage.

There was recently a big issue of National War Bonds at the conservative interest rate of 2½ %, actually a slightly *lower* rate than the previous one, and well within the original intention of our Government to try and run this war with our own resources and not to have to pay more than 3 % for borrowed money. Well, it was exceedingly well taken up, and very largely by the "small man", and this on top of an absolutely record figure for 'savings' in in the year just over. The actual figure for these was £1,269 millions—almost equal to the total revenue of the country, and far in excess of the most optimistic expectations !

The deductions that may be made fron the success of the new loan following on such an enormous lending to Government are as follows :—

(*a*) Since the new loan is for a long period, Government are evidently looking BEYOND this war, to reconstruction expenditure.

(*b*) Nearly one half the total of the previous year's savings coming from the "small man's" Savings Certificates, Defence Bonds and new Post Office deposits, the fact that he has again subscribed largely shows his complete confidence in Government, and faith in his country's destiny.

(*c*) The "small man" having such a huge stake in Govenment means that he must inevitably weild, and be trusted with, greater influence in the conduct of the country hereafter.

(*d*) If, even to attract the poorer people, Government only have to offer so mild a rate of interest, the bogey of inflation must be more remote than anyone thought. The rise in prices, which was slight and almost entirely ceased after the first month of war, is further evidence of this.

We suggest, also, that President Roosevelt's grand scheme of 'leasing and lending' ships and munitions to BRITAIN, instead of demanding ready money or arranging expensive loans, will certainly help to avoid inflation in spite of the astronomical expenditure figures which a war against Hitler demands.

"There were giants in those days".

To the scriptural tag, we add, "And so there are now". In both the great English-speaking countries, the hour has brought forth the men. Just as the personality of Winston Churchill overtops the British race, so does that of Franklin Roosevelt the Americans.

He grows in stature with the times. He is not only a great man; he is a great politician, and the two attributes do not always or even often, go together. Listen! In the face of a powerful and perfectly genuine opposition, against many millions of voters of German stock and sympathies, against a formidable Fifth Column hard at work throughout two Continents, he can now stand forth and say; "If BRITAIN went down we should enter on a new and terrible era in which the whole world, our own hemisphere included would be run by threats of brute force. To survive in such a world we would have to convert ourselves permanently into a militaristic power on the basis of a war economy." In the same speech, he spoke with such venomous bluntness of the Totalitarians, and rejected with such stinging scorn both their threats, and the 'appeasement' pleas in his own country, that the world was thrilled—we, and all fighters for right and justice, with pride and hope; the Axis and their hangers-on, with resentment and ill-concealed fear. It was the utterance of a great man.

You can take a horse to water.

.........but you can't make him drink. Roosevelt does not work that way. Many British people have been disappointed in the Americans until recently. I think Roosevelt and his able colleagues, Cordell Hull and Sumner Welles and the others, were too. But they knew what we hardly realised, namely that he was dealing with a nation that had sworn never again to become entangled in European affairs, and had lived for years in a dream of an insulated and prosperous hemisphere. They were 135 millions of people, living in apparent security 3,000 sea-miles away from bombs and Gestapo agents, and enjoying unbounded prosperity after a period of financial collapse that followed from the last war-to-end-war! He had to outface important figures in people like Senator Borah and Senator Johnson, General Johnson and Colonel Lindburgh, Joseph Kennedy and Henry Ford, who, for all that their thinking is wishful, have not been anti-British or pro-German as such, but influence a large press and public as prophets of the widespread cult of isolationism, watchdogs of a sacred constitution, and bitter opponents of anything that savours of an autocracy, whatever the emergency.

Right up to his triumphant re-election, and equally since, Roosevelt has consistently waited to make important forward moves *until the majority of his people were asking almost indignantly why their administration was not acting.* When it became certain that Americans had largely tumbled to the fact (*a*) that this war *is* a fight for Freedom, (*b*) that BRITAIN is the front line of the defence of American democracy, (*c*) that, with a huge southern continent not only a present roosting-place for Fifth Columnists but an obvious vantage-point for an Axis that might be victorious in EUROPE, the precious Monroe Doctrine may be another of those pitiful 'scraps of paper',—*then* Roosevelt came out into the open with a policy and immediate programme so unequivocal and so enormous that, as certain Axis papers ruefully remark, 'it is a farce to pretend any longer that AMERICA is not at war'.

Lease and Lend. The passage of the aid to Britain Bill will be stubbornly fought in Congress, but it will be unusually quickly fought. Already important isolationists like Henry Ford have given way and will come in on the effort 100%; Roosevelt's bitter election opponent Wendell Wilkie confers confidentially with the President before an important trip to LONDON to see Churchill; in short it is difficult to think that there is serious danger of the Bill failing to receive Congress's sanction, perhaps even without much paring down.

The die is cast. American affairs occupy more paragraphs than this feature usually allows to a single subject, but they are of such epoch-making importance that no excuse is needed. Our peroration consists of three quotations, one British and two American :—

"BRITAIN now continues the grim struggle, albeit without the decisive support which American industry when fully organised, will be able to supply. Alone she cannot be beaten ; with the UNITED STATES' full co-operation she cannot fail to conquer."

"This speech puts us in the war. There is no longer a shadow of doubt about that. We are as much at war as BRITAIN was a couple of years before MUNICH. The only difference, as we can see it, is that the horizon is clearer to-day".

"I am proud that there are other people besides the British who will not take it lying down. I'm proud that the people who elected Roosevelt are my people and that I am one of them. If Adolf Hitler still thinks he has a chance after that speech he is crazier even than he sounds."

Reminiscence. Early in this century, a callow student wrote a masterpiece of an essay. Although his professors cut it to ribbons and gave him a mere Beta Plus, he is still convinced

that it was a masterpiece—of prophetic speculation, at any rate! It was all about the way to establish a millennium and do away with war, and the panacea for the world's ills was an Anglo-Saxon Federation. I fear that GERMANY was to be allowed to be a partner, but the main point was the abolition of any nationalisms and patriotisms as between BRITAIN, her Dominions, and the UNITED STATES, and their combination into a great Federal Commonwealth.

Many were the marks of exclamation or interrogation in the margins; brief scepticisms and ironies sprinkled the page. But AMERICA already considers CANADA as, shall we say, part of the American continent; they exchange military and economic missions; they fly one another's planes. In WASHINGTON, Lord Halifax has the unprecedented number of three Ministers attached to his Embassy; moreover, he is the first British Ambassador who retains his seat in the Cabinet in LONDON.

"Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings..."?

BRITAIN SPEAKS.

[*Broadcast on December 21, 1940 by* ***Philip Noel Baker.***]

[***The transcription of this broadcast was rather mutilated, but we feel that it is too interesting to pass over, and reprint it, with doubtful passages queried. Ed.***]

TWO ENGLISH MEN.

Yesterday, the British Parliament talked about the war. Its spokesmen were an Englishman called Winston Churchill and a Welshman, called David Lloyd-George. In the last war, Winston Churchill was, in turn, Minister in charge of the Navy, then of the Army, then of the Air Force. To-day, he is Prime Minister and Minister of Defence. He is the leader of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Since Hitler's hammer-blows in Norway, Holland, Belgium and France, it is he who has rallied our British and our Dominion forces and who has built up our steadily-developing alliance with the nations on whom Hitler's and Mussolini's onslaughts have been so treacherously made. In the House of Commons, Winston Churchill opened yesterday's debate. David Lloyd-George was the other speaker. A quarter of a century ago, he was Prime Minister of Great Britain and the leader of the British Commonwealth of Nations. With Woodrow Wilson, he stood then at the head of an alliance which over four years of desperate battle, he had resolutely built up, and which when the battle ended, included thirty nations, numbering among them, nearly fifteen hundred million souls. In 1918, he led that alliance to victory,—victory as absolute as any in human history,—victory over three great Empires whose territories stretched from the Baltic to Baghdad. There are few men alive to-day, who know as much of war with its fearful hazards and its sweeping tides of disaster and success as these two spokesmen of our House of Commons. Compared to them, Hitler and Mussolini are vicious pariahs. It is not surprising, therefore, that the House was crowded to hear them speak or that their words were listened to with rapt attention, and that they were greeted at the end with ardent cheers.

A GREAT PARLIAMENTARY OCCASION.

All who were there, the members and the press, will remember yesterday as a great Parliamentary occasion. It was in part a great occasion because these great men made speeches that can truthfully be described as great. It was a great occasion also because these two great men both felt it possible to speak about the war with far more enthusiasm than any of us would have dared to hope for, a month ago. But

above all, it was a great occasion because it showed that the Mother of all Parliaments, was still alive, that our Parliament is still the mainspring of our national resolve, that it can still throw up moral stature to lead the world, that it is a virile instrument by which the will-power of free nations can still be fused and led.

Long months ago when the war was only six weeks old, some critic said that soon, of course, our Parliament would be sand-bagged either in the active or the passive sense. He mentioned however, that appearances might be kept up, but the reality of parliamentary freedom would be destroyed by the shock of total war; that either the rights and duties of Parliament would be openly abrogated or cut down or else that it would be protected out of existence, sent away or relegated far from the centre of affairs. Behind its sandbags, it would become an ancient monument without real influence or power.

PARLIAMENT SEES IT THROUGH.

We know now that he was wrong, this critic who believed that our free institutions would not survive the shock of total war. Parliament has not been sent away from London. It has been bombed by Nazi aircraft. Some of its historic beauties have been temporarily disfigured by high explosive. The sword of King Richard Lion Heart, outside the House of Lords, has been a little bent by the flying fragments of a bomb. A librarian of the House of Commons, on night sentry duty as a member of His Majesty's Home Guard, has been gravely wounded, but Parliament is there. The Nazi onslaughts have nto driven it away to the safety and futility of some far retreat. Indeed the exact reverse of that has happened. Parliament said it couldn't leave its post while London was being heavily attacked. It demanded that its annual recess from August to November should be annulled. Right through those months, it stuck to duty. It sat more days than it has sat in any year in all its history here-to-fore. Day by day, its members and others play their part in its proceedings; though their homes have been bombed about their heads; although they've spent their nights in public shelters with their electors; although they've been in the streets, putting out the fires and rescuing the wounded, succouring the dying, carrying in the dead.

ALIVE AND KICKING!

Nor has Parliament lost its right to tax. Again the reverse of that has happened. It has freely given the Government a more rapid and executive authority than the Government enjoyed in time of peace. It has allowed the Government to arrest a member for their activities which Ministers thought dangerous to the state. But its own authority has been simultaneously increased. Never in its history has its prestige stood higher; seldom has

it worked so industriously and so well. None of its peace-time functions has been given up. Do the doubters really think that in war conditions the many subjects could escape the searchings and vigorous control which the Parliamentary duties of all parties impose upon them at question-time? Its former doubters were completely wrong. On every Parliamentary day governors and Government must still answer questions for a solid hour. They may still think to elude their discourses by saying in a tone of resolute finality, "The answer is in the negative," or by saying shortly that they have nothing to add, or that they must have written notice of the supplementary points which the questioners have brought or by referring the Honourable Member to a previous answer given to another Honourable Member, it may be on the seventeenth of May. Still, as in peace time they must stand up to our full machine-gun fire, for as in peace time, Parliamentary questions are a potent weapon by which the executive can get results. Did the doubters think that in war conditions, members could mask the individual aggressor or fail to stand up for social justice as they used to? Never have members been more active in this regard. The rights of soldiers, their rates of pay, the allowances for their wives and children, the schooling of the children, the hardships of old age pensioners, – no week has passed when the vigilance of members on all such matters have for an instant, been relaxed.

FACING NEW PROBLEMS.

Did the doubters think that Parliament in war conditions could not legislate? Rarely have we had such great new problems to confront. Rarely have we dealt with them with such general approval and dispatch. Nazi bombs have injured workers in the factories, have killed and lamed air-raid wardens and rescue parties on the dock. They have destroyed factories and public buildings, the cities, towns and villages, the homes and offices of both rich and poor. The task must follow, to pass the law enabling the Government to compensate the victims of Nazi violence, from the public funds. They are passing another law, to lay the burden of material loss from aerial bombardment, not on the humble citizen whose house and worldly goods are all destroyed, but on the broad shoulders of the nation where it properly belongs. Half a dozen other measures will prevent injustice and hardship resulting from the war, and by those measures it has fortified the national morale. And its guns sing, (?) because it knows that a miner leader from the coal fields of South Wales, said in the House of Commons the other day, that "if the Battle of Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton, this war will be won or lost in the homes of the common people of our land."

NEW EXPEDITIOUSNESS.

And the watchmen (?) in Parliament have worked with a speed that the dictators of Berlin and Rome

could hardly equal. A few weeks ago, we gave the Chancellor of the Exchequer five thousand million dollars in a single morning and we did it readily and with confidence, because we knew that out of the legislation we have passed, all excess profits on war contracts come back to the nation's, subjects, that this time therefore, there will be no private privateering fortunes as happened a quarter of a century ago.

THE VALUE OF DEBATE.

And Parliament has played its part in the conduct of this war as it has always done before. In the last war, the Parliamentary debates on the Social League (?), on the Dardanelles Campaign, on Mesopotamia, were turning points in the combats of that great time. This time, we have not failed to make the Government answer to us for everything it does. In secret sessions, it has found out far more about our armed forces and their problems than we should have learned in public in time of peace. But we have not hesitated to debate the war in public when we thought that that was required. It was a public debate in the House of Commons, on our campaign in Norway which turned one Government out of power and put a new and stronger Government in its place. Time and again by debate in public, we have roused the supply department to greater vigour and an increase of the speed with which our forces have been armed.

WATCH DOGS OF DEMOCRACY.

But more precious than all, Parliament has kept the spirit of Democracy alive, the powers, the traditions, the freedom of which Democracy consists. We have a Communist member in the House of Commons. I remember one night before the war, when he told an eminent Tory Minister that he looked like a deflated Buddha sitting on the treasury bench, and another day, he spoke of another Minister of the Crown, as bringing the low courage (?) of a Chicago gangster, to his government work. He is still there, still free to state his views, however little support they may command.

THE GREAT TRADITION.

It was Queen Victoria's Prime Minister, Disraeli who said, " We can only govern by tradition or by the sword." It is tradition, custom and practice deeply rooted in the living concept of many generations, that gives Democracy its power. In Parliament, we observe the traditions and the procedure of the past. All through the darkened caverns of Westminster Palace, lit only on our winter evenings by the masked candles of the black-out, the people of the House of Commons have received a royal assent to the bills we've passed. Still in the language of the Norman Kings, the Royal message comes : " *Le Roi le veut.*" *And still our freedom between the living and the old will stand over that : " The more (?) we stand for, the more (?) we do."* [Italics

obscure Ed.] That is why it is in our Parliament that our natural resolve is formed and made. When King Leopold surrendered, and Belgium fell, it was Parliament which took the shock of the fearful news. It was a Parliamentary debate which rallied the opinion of the nation, which steeled it to receive the other disasters which followed swiftly after, which prepared it for invasion, for air bombardment, for submarine blockade. It is thanks to Parliament that the nation is to-day united as it has never been united in history before. It is thanks to Parliamentary freedom and debate that when, in a great discussion two weeks ago, a member asked for an immediate peace conference with Hitler, he only got five other members of the House of Commons, out of six hundred odd, to vote in his support.

SOMETHING WORTH FIGHTING FOR.

Yesterday, Winston Churchill and David Lloyd-George both told us that our victories in Africa and the great victories in Albania, have been won, because the heart of the Italian soldiers is not in their work, because they don't believe in the cause for which a squalid (?) dictator has sent them out to fight. To-day a British observer in Libya told us that when every other factor has been counted, when technical and strategical explanations have been made, the Italians have been beaten by the spirit of our men. Mechanics from London, textile workers from Yorkshire, shepherds from Wales or Scotland, farmers (?) tarmen (?) from Dorset or from Norfolk or from Kent, their heart is in their work. They know that in those desert sands, they fight for freedom, for themselves, for the Italians, and for all of mankind. They are proving, as our seamen and our pilots have so amply proved, that Parliamentary Democracy is the wisest, the strongest and the most enduring form of government in the world. They are ensuring now and for ever, the "government of the people, by the people, for the people."

LIGHTNING WAR IN NORTH AFRICA.

HITLER subjected Western Poland in six weeks of *Blitzkrieg*. His armies reached Paris five weeks after invading Holland, Belgium and Luxemburg. Of these achievements he boasts in every speech. They were intended to terrify Britain and all other free countries into submission.

The British Imperial Forces in North Africa have eclipsed this feat. To surround a whole Army Corps and compel surrender within 72 hours of the first advance is a military achievement without precedent.

In less than one month General Wavell's army has now advanced over 120 miles of waterless country with only one road. It has defeated a numerically stronger and well equipped enemy occupying defended posts of which Bardia was very strongly fortified. It has already captured nearly 70,000 prisoners and great quantities of war materials.

[*It has now advanced nearly 200 miles, and has captured* ***Tobruk*** *with its garrison and supplies ! Ed.*]

THE DIFFERENCE.

The British victories have been accomplished without any of the ghastly devices of German total war.

To prevent the effective use of Dutch means of resistance, Fifth Column agents wrought treachery from within after years of tolerant Dutch hospitality. Nazis in Dutch uniforms spread confusion. **To force the Dutch army to capitulate, German bombers slaughtered 30,000 civilians in 90 minutes in the almost defenceless city of Rotterdam.**

The Allied armies in France were gravely hampered in their progress by refugees deliberately driven on to the roads. The refugees did not hamper the Nazis, who dive-bombed and machine-gunned them. Of 5 million refugees who swarmed over the French roads, a surviving 10-year old girl said : "the worst part was stepping over bodies".

The political collapse of France had been prepared for six years by the intrigues of an enemy who persistently declared peaceful intentions.

POINTERS FOR THE FUTURE.

Wavell's victories, on the other hand, are military victories, and auguries of more to come as British strength advances. They were made possible, first, by British command of the sea, which enabled the Imperial armies to be transported to the Middle East without the loss of a man ; secondly, by an astute balance of risks at the moment of England's greatest peril, when the home and Mediterranean fronts were alike threatened ; thirdly, by long and patient training ; fourthly, by combined strategy on sea, land and in the air ; fifthly, by brilliant staff work and organization ; sixthly, by unfailing fighting qualities in the assault.

COSMOPOLITANA

1. "Life for Englishmen without freedom is not worth a shilling. Death seems for him easier than for others."

(*Swedish "Handels Tidning", January 14.*)

2. "The proposed New Order in the Pacific means domination by one country to the exclusion of the interests of other nations."

(*Mr. Cordell Hull, Washington, January 15.*)

3. "Hitler will be broken against the iron will of the British people."

(*Sir Archibald Sinclair, British Air Minister, Glasgow, January 16.*)

4. "We cordially welcome the Greek people not only as our Ally in this temporal conflict, but also as our companion in a great spiritual fight."

(*Archbishop of Canterbury's letter to the Metropolitan of Athens, Mid-January.*)

5. "If Hitler and his dupes dare raise their eyes, they will see the writing upon the wall of Congress—the Aid to Britain Bill."

(*Sir Archibald Sinclair, Glasgow, January 16.*)

6. "The price of safety is eternal vigilance."

(*Mr. Winston Churchill, Glasgow, January 17.*)

7. "The most amazing tongue in the cheek statement ever made by any statesman in any part of the world."

(*The "Yomiuri Shimbum" on Mr. Cordell Hull's speech in Washington, Tokio, January 17.*)

8. "I can hold out no hopes of an easy passage.........Before us lie dangers.................. which might, if we neglect anything, be fatal, mortal."

(*Mr. Winston Churchill, Glasgow, January 17.*)

9. "The question is simple. Are we to move steadily forward and have freedom or are we to be put back into the Middle Ages of a Totalitarian system?"

(*Mr. Winston Churchill, Glasgow, January 17.*)

10. "When German cities are bombed as the British are bombed, I do not believe the Germans will take it as the British are taking it."
(*Col. Frank Knox, Washington, January 18.*)

11. "In the face of perils never before encountered, our strong purpose is to strengthen and perpetuate the integrity of Democracy."
(*President Roosevelt, Washington, January 20.*)

12. "We are at war now."
(*Admiral Yates Stirling, Illinois, January 17.*)

Examples of Misleading Statements in Enemy Broadcasts to India and the Near East for the period January 6, 1941—January 12, 1941.

A.—BROADCASTS IN ENGLISH.

AN ITALIAN VICTORY.

The fall of Bardia on January 4 seems to have thrown the Axis radio propagandists into even greater confusion than usual. It will be remembered how, on the evening of that day, Rome said that Bardia was "neither a city nor a fortress, simply a sparsely-inhabited place on the road to the frontier"—apparently forgetting that on December 21 both Rome and Berlin had described Bardia as "not only the gateway to Libya, **but the bastion of Fascism itself.**"

A week later, on January 11, Rome quotes Mussolini's own newspaper *Il Popolo d'Italia* as saying: "Bardia is an Italian victory". The Duce, of course, is known to have some peculiar ideas of what constitutes a victory. A few years ago he told Madame Tabouis, the famous French journalist: "If I had been Prime Minister at the time of Caporetto, I should have announced it as a great victory". It was at Caporetto, in November 1916, that 250,000 Italians were taken prisoners and nearly twice that number killed or wounded.

Going on to dismiss the fall of Bardia as an isolated operation of little importance, Rome radio says, "The losses suffered by the British cannot be made good, whereas the resisting power of Italy has hardly been affected at all". On the contrary, British reinforcements can easily be brought to Egypt

because the British Navy guarantees their safe passage. Italy lost more than 40,000 officers and men at Bardia, compared with the British loss of some 600.

GREEK TO THEM.

Meanwhile, those who recall how, at the time of the Greek invasion, the Rome radio (as well as Hitler's wireless) frequently sneered that Greece would receive no aid from Britain, will be interested to hear that Mussolini's home radio service has been busy telling the Italian people that " by now, the whole of the Greek Army is organised by the British—the artillery is British, the air force is British, the command is British ".

THANK YOU FOR NOTHING.

Axis propaganda suddenly displays a touching concern for the welfare of the British Empire, which is now menaced (according to the Rome radio) by the dark and dreadful designs of America! Referring to President Roosevelt, Rome says in English (January 11): " Perhaps all the time he is secretly preparing to give the British people a stab in the back. The British public deserves to be put on its guard." The most extraordinary thing about this piece of imaginative prose was that—by some curious mix-up—it was addressed not to the Empire, but to the Americans themselves! Not very tactful, perhaps, but appropriate enough as coming from a nation which knows a good deal about stabs in the back.

THE TRUTH ABOUT BREMEN.

The R. A. F.'s terrific onslaught on Bremen on New Year's night is still fresh in the world's mind. Next day, Berlin told the outside world, including India: " British planes bombed Northern Germany last night. At three points slight damage was done to industrial works. There were several casualties, five of which were fatal." The following night, however, the Nazi-controlled Radio Paris was inadvertently permitted to say: " The military communiqué from Berlin is laconic and depressing, Germany has been hard hit by two consecutive raids on Bremen. Severe damage has been done to several big factories, where large fires have been blazing for two days. More than 600 casualties are reported ".

B.—BROADCASTS IN ASIATIC LANGUAGES.

PUBLIC HEALTH IN BRITAIN.

The Germans in their Hindustani broadcast of January 8 announced that the British people's health was fast deteriorating and that there was eight times more disease than dnring the pre-war years. The reasons for this deterioration was stated to be the unhygienic condition of air-raid shelters.

Actually, the figures quoted by Sir William Jameson (Chief Medical Officer to the Ministry of Health) for 1940 up to December 14, as compared with the similar period in 1939, showed a decrease in scarlet fever and diptheria, and a slight increase in pneumonia.

The census, taken in December, showed that only five per cent. of the population of the London region occupied public shelters and 19 per cent domestic and communal shelters. In the Metropolitan area, the people using public shelters were 8 per cent. and domestic and communal shelters 21 per cent. There has been no outbreak of epidemic or infectious diseases even in deep and crowded shelters.

GERMAN DISTORTIONS.

The Germans misreport a speech by Sir Walter Layton, the British expert who recently went to the U. S. A. as the representative of the Ministry of Supply, in their broadcast of January 10. They quote him as saying that 1940 was Hitler's year, but **they omit to state that Sir Walter had also said that the tide had turned.** Hitler's domination of Europe had naturally given him a lead in steel production, but the Nazis had to reckon with the blockade, which was keeping Germany short of many vital products for war purposes, and also the fact that she would not be able to exploit fully the resources of the conquered but dissatisfied countries. And, most significant of all, Sir Walter also referred to the steel output of the United States, **which would exceed 80 million tons in 1941 and was more than the rest of the world's steel put together.**

ITALIAN ADULATION OF GERMANY.

Referring to a French general's alleged revelation of "a Franco-British plan" to conquer Belgium, the Italian radio of January 9 goes on to praise the political efficiency of Germany who overran that country in a few weeks. It will also be remembered that a few days ago the Italian radio proudly announced the arrival of the *Luftwaffe* in Italy. Gone, obviously, are the days when Rome radio could boastfully say, as on August 14, 1940 "even if Britain can hold out against attacks on her channel coast...........in the Mediterranean, as the result of Italian victories it will mean the beginning of the end". On December 16, however, French listeners to the Italian radio were reminded that "the Italian army was facing troops gathered from the four continents, who were supported by the most powerful navy in the world".

READ

THE

SPECIAL AIR-WAR SECTION

WITHIN

The War is becoming more and more an Air-War— over Britain, over Germany, over the North Sea, over the Mediterranean. It is difficult to co-ordinate the many disconnected items of Air-War news in the daily paper. So we print a series of recent articles which give a more or less composite picture of the situation.

ANALYSIS OF AIR WAR IN 1940

IMPORTANT FACTORS IN FIRST PHASE OF WAR

NEED FOR GREATER AIRCRAFT SUPPLIES

The Times writes in an editorial on the air battle:—

THE detailed analysis of the last year's air fighting issued by the Air Ministry puts the losses of German aircraft during the 12 months at over 3,500 machines against our own losses of 1,050 machines and 650 pilots. Even these figures are incomplete. They do not include the losses inflicted in Norway by the Allies, in France by the French before the Armistice or by our bombers defending themselves against attack, or the losses incurred by accident to damaged or undamaged machines. They should be supplemented—if the whole story of the R. A. F.'s exploits is to be told—by the losses of the Italians, which amount to over 550 machines and by the reminder that nearly all this total was amassed during the last eight months of the year.

We are clearly entitled to claim that the first round of the air battle has gone in our favour but it would be premature to claim that the first round is decisive and we have geographical disadvantages to overcome.

It is now over two months since Germany last sought to measure her air strength against our strength on any large scale. The switch over to night bombing has lowered the casualties which, though serious, are probably never crippling to a force of the size of the *Luftwaffe*. The challenge may come again at any moment in what may seem to be undiminished force and the next round of the air battle must be won by the same means as the first.

(1) There has been in the first place marked superiority in the quality of our machines. That lead in quality must be kept.

(2) A second factor has been successful tactics based on thorough training, notably the tactics of day interception. The necessity for keeping up the successes by day or for extending them by night needs no elaboration.

(3) The third factor has been the production and acquisition of aircraft upon increasing scales and.........

(4) A fourth has been the use of our bombers upon a consistent strategic plan.

All the authorities are agreed upon the urgency of even greater supplies of aircraft and particularly bombers to intensify the campaign and the supreme task in the coming months, confidently undertaken, will be to ensure that the demand shall be steadily overtaken.

EXPANSION OF AMERICAN AIRCRAFT FACTORIES.

BRING OUTPUT UP TO SCHEDULE.

*The Air Correspondent of the **Manchester Guardian** writes*:—

The statement made by President Roosevelt in his address to Congress that the United States is behind schedule in its output of finished aircraft, focuses attention once more on the American aviation industry.

Ever since the British Purchasing Commission began negotiations in the United States, there have been many conflicting and inaccurate reports about orders placed and the rate of deliveries. The fact is that the American industry has been undergoing a huge reorganisation to enable it to carry out the task of turning out in great numbers all types of aircraft–tankers, fighters, bombers and flying boats.

Three months ago, 21 of the principal companies were given authority to push ahead with the manufacture of 14,394 machines costing £ 312,750,000 and in order to deal with these orders, every factory has been and is being expanded.

The Boeing Company alone, which makes B–17–C Flying Fortress bombers, has already enlarged its plant more than 2½ times ever since 1939 and when extensions are fully completed in four months' time, the floor area will be 1,600,000 square feet. At the present time, one B–17–C is being turned out every two days, one Steerman training machine, which is also built by Boeings, is produced every three hours. In some other factories, the output is not so satisfactory and production has been fluctuating between 800 and 1,000 aeroplanes monthly. Hitherto there has been some difficulty about the output of engines for certain types of aircraft and this has been one of the main troubles experienced by manufacturers, but these have now been solved and it is certain that the tremendous drive now being made in the United States will soon bring aircraft production up to decisive proportions.

BATTLE OF THE BOMBERS.

Damage and Defence.

FOR eight months the R. A. F. has been systematically bombing military and industrial targets in Germany and Nazi-occupied territories. Last August the *Luftwaffe's* sporadic attempts to attack Britain developed into a Blitz from newly acquired bases. Despite tremendous losses the *Luftwaffe* is still numerically stronger than the R. A F. and it enjoys the advantage of shorter range.

Why are the words of the *New York Herald Tribune*, written on August 17, 1940, still true:—that the Nazis "have launched an overwhelming attack and it has failed utterly to overwhelm"?

Why is the R. A. F.'s "master-plan" of bombing over Germany achieving steady results?

GERMAN BOMBERS.

1. **In one of the air battles of Britain a Spitfire pilot found German bombers in the stratisphere at a height of 37,000 feet—8,000 feet higher than the summit of Mt. Everest.** To escape the anti-aircraft barrage the Nazis customarily fly and bomb at great heights "by the clock", *i. e.*, with a given direction and speed to bring them **somewhere near a map-square in which their target is supposed to lie.**

2. **The German air force is less highly trained than the R. A. F. and has been produced primarily for co-operation with land-forces in** *Blitzkrieg*.

BRITISH BOMBERS.

1. **The bombing of the Dortmund-Ems Canal last autumn was carried out at lower than 1,000 feet. A common height for British attacks is 2,000 feet.** Before every raid the crew is "briefed" with full information of a precise military objective. Exact large-scale models assist identification, and the pilots fly "by the clock" only on the first part of their journey. High-quality construction and good piloting enable R. A. F. bombers to face the enemy A. A. which is concentrated rather than scientifically laid.

2. **The R. A. F. had months of valuable training over enemy territory in reconnaissance and leaflet raids during the first part of the war.**

3. The German offensive has been a series of attempted knock-out blows, interspersed with hit-and-run raids. When one intended prelude to invasion failed (the day-attacks on ports and aerodromes) they tried another (mass daylight raids on London). When that failed they again changed their tactics to indiscriminate night-raids on London and other big towns designed to wear down civilian morale and affect incidental damage to targets in the area.

3. The British offensive is based upon a well worked out plan from which there has never been any deviation—night bombing of selected objectives by unaccompanied bombers at ranges up to 600 miles. When the R. A. F.'s disorganization of rail-communication over the enemy's extended lines led to the transfer of traffic to waterways, the canal-system was attacked at vital points. When the damage to Hamm marshalling-yards had been partly repaired, it was visited again. When Hamburg docks had been put out of action they were left alone for a period. A certain secretly built and specially camouflaged ammunition factory was bombed by the R. A. F. exactly three hours after it had started work!

4. Not more than half-a-dozen times under eight months bombing have the Nazis admitted even slight damage to military or industrial objectives. Last summer the American Warren Irving described the restrictions on neutral journalists in Germany. "Those who play the game are sure of being rewarded, but those who don't are equally sure of being disciplined...... We had to submit our scripts to three separate censorships". Since then the Nazis have expressly forbidden neutral journalists to make any reference to military or industrial damage.

Watch the British bombing-plans as revealed by changing targets to see how effective the raids must be.

4. Neutral witnesses say: "British reports are about as correct as it is possible to make them" (*James MacDonald in the New York Times*). **"The fact is that the R. A. F............. reports are not only as accurate as man can make them, but understate the advantage the British are gaining over the Germans."** (*W. R. Knickerbocker, Hearst Press*). British communiqués report damage when it occurs, omitting only details which would assist the enemy. A neutral correspondent recently reported that **less than one per cent. of Britain's industrial output** had been adversely affected by bombing.

Watch the supply of war material to distant fronts such as the Western Desert to see how ineffective German raids must be.

METHOD BEHIND R. A. F. OFFENSIVE

FACTORS WHICH DECIDE TARGETS AND FREQUENCY OF ATTACKS

by

Wing Commander L. V. Fraser.

The Germans themselves have declared that with the indiscriminate bombing of British provincial cities a new phase in the war in the air is beginning. But nothing they may attempt against Britain will distract the Royal Air Force from their methodical offensive against Germany.

There are two reasons why British raids on Germany are more effective than German raids on Britain.

First, British bombers are accurate in their aim. Second, they work according to plan.

Their many long reconnaissance flights in winter a year ago enabled British crews to make themselves acquainted with the enemy's country and every kind of weather and their machines and instruments are unrivalled products of British industry.

The plan to which they work is an equally remarkable achievement. It was set in operation when the first heavy raids began on Germany. But it was thought out long before.

Nothing the enemy can do will interrupt the execution of this plan. To copy his own methods of indiscriminate, or as the Germans themselves call it retaliatory, bombing would be wantonly to throw away the two great advantages of better strategy and better tactics which Britain enjoys.

In its main outlines the British plan is perfectly simple. **It is to concentrate the greatest possible striking power—at the right moment—in the right order—against the most vital and sensitive parts of the enemy's war machine.**

In its details the plan is of course extremely complicated. It must be based on the most up-to-date information that can be obtained. In the strategy of air warfare industrial experts in many spheres, and economists, and scientists must be consulted.

The plan must be extremely flexible, but its main aim must never be forgotten. The whole striking force may be temporarily diverted to a new objective because a sudden opportunity offers or because there is an urgent need to check the enemy's own offensive at its source, but as soon as possible the whole force must return to the original targets.

Thus enemy ships may suddenly put themselves in a dangerous position, or preparations for invasion must be attacked before an invasion can start, but when this work is done British bombers return, as they have always returned, to their long-term offensive against Germany's vital centres.

A host of factors will decide the choice of targets and when, how often or with what strength they must be attacked.

Is a factory or goods yards easily repaired? Then it must be attacked at frequent intervals—an obvious example is Hamm—though not necessarily by a large force each time. Can a building be damaged only by a direct hit or will a near miss do almost as well? Is a target easily recognised? Is it bomb-proof or easily damaged? How well is it defended?

Finally, and most important, how essential to the enemy's military or industrial organisation is any particular objective at any given moment?

To answer these questions a great number of experts must be consulted and, as new information continually comes in, the answers must be continually checked.

The ministry of Economic Warfare gives its advice from day to day on the changing needs and conditions of German industry. Photographic reconnaissance provides a mass of information as to what has happened to an objective, whether a factory is being enlarged or repaired, where a ship is being built, or whether they have been damaged in dock. **The Intelligence Branch pieces together innumerable scraps of information which help to decide whether a particular raid is advisable or whether another has been successful.**

Already some of the broader aspects of this planned offensive can be clearly seen, though no doubt there are surprises to come, both for the layman and for the Germans themselves.

There is no mystery about Britain's steady destruction of Germany's reserves of oil, a raw material which Germany finds it most difficult to import or produce and a most essential armament of modern war, and of all things the most easily attacked from the air.

Vast quantities of oil stored in Germany against the outbreak of war or captured from the countries she has overrun have been set ablaze, oil refineries have been smashed, Germany's synthetic oil plants—her confession of her weakness and proof of her fear of blockade—have been systematically ravaged.

To make good her losses Germany strains every nerve to **import** oil from Rumania and elsewhere, but here once again the British plan is in the way. **By attacking various hubs of her immensely complicated railway system, bottle necks, bridges, terminal stations and yards where goods traffic must converge and be again dispersed, British bombers may dislocate traffic even beyond their present ever-increasing range.**

Every day the success of this assault on Germany's railways becomes more apparent as news comes in of the stagnation of industry, of food rotting in sidings and of journeys that now take many times as long as before the war.

As the railways decay, traffic on the inland waterways of Germany has to increase. A careful watch is kept on canals and rivers and when for example it is reported that coal, petrol and foodstuffs are being carried in increasing quantities on the Rhine, **at precisely the right moment the inland port of Duisburg-Ruhrort, a critical junction for such traffic, is heavily raided.**

The only argument for the indiscriminate bombing of a town's residential districts is that it may lower the morale of the civilian population. But it is a doubtful weapon, for there is always a good chance that such bombing will stiffen the resolution of those who endure it.

In fact the morale of the civilian population is far more surely destroyed by the British attack on Germany's vital centres.

When oil plants and transport are heavily raided not only is Germany's military effort hampered but the supply of the necessities of life becomes precarious, public utility services are interrupted and the German people are deprived of whatever amenities they may previously have been allowed.

The process is cumulative and inexorable. Its final result will be to destroy the nation's will to continue the struggle.

The long winter nights give British bombers more time for the execution of their plan. In the darkness they can range farther over enemy country and reach targets previously inaccessible.

When the nights shorten again the Royal Air Force will have new and many more bombers and the plan may be expected to enter its second phase.

Hitherto British bombers have been engaged in a new kind of blockade. They have not only prevented vital supplies from reaching the enemy by their attacks on transport, they have also destroyed supplies stored or produced in the enemy's country.

In spring they may well begin a new stage in the offensive, a "fighting offensive" which will put the Germans on the defensive.

Their object will be to master the air over the enemy's country to prepare the way for the final stage of their struggle.

IMPROVED PLANE TYPES FOR THE R. A. F.

AMERICAN JOURNAL ON AIR MINISTRY'S PLANS

GETTING READY FOR NEW "NAZI WAR BIRDS"

MORE RECENT MODELS FROM U. S.

[*The following extracts from an article by Leonard Engel in the American technical journal* '**Flying and Popular Aviation**' *concerning new British plane types is quoted by the* '**Times,**' *Aeronautical Correspondent. The statements contained in it are neither confirmed nor denied in official Air Ministry circles.*]

THE Air Ministry is preparing a complete new line of combat planes designed to supplant in the immediate future the Hurricane and Spitfire, Wellington, Whitley and others. The new aircraft are a Hawker Tornado single-seat fighter powered by a 2,000 h. p. Rolls Royce Vulture engine and capable of a speed of about 425 m. p. h.; a Westland Whirlwind twin-engined fighter driven by Rolls Royce Merlin engines and capable of just over 400 m. p. h.; an Avro Manchester twin-engined bomber, driven by Vulture engines with a speed of about 325 m. p. h.; and a Short Stirling four-engined bomber.

The Vickers Wellington, Handley Page, Hampden, Armstrong, Whitworth and Whitley have been "beefed up" and re-engined, the Wellington and Whitley with 2,000 h. p. motors instead of 1,000 h. p.

Just how many of the new planes are ready for service is not known with certainty. It is understood however that enough Tornados have been completed to fit out about 20 fighter squadrons—nearly 400 planes in all. Not many Whirlwinds have yet come off the production line, nor have any Manchester squadrons been formed at the time of writing, and of the new-engined Wellingtons, Whitleys and Hampdens the first production models were tested about last November.

The Tornado's armament is the only one known in detail and is impressive—eight machine guns and three 20-mm. cannon. The Whirlwind is believed to include in its armament a power-operated turret. Its primary mission will be combating Germany's twin-engined Messerschmitt 110.

The changes have increased the top speed of the Wellington from 265 m. p. h. to more than 325 and the Whitley's speed is about 300 m. p. h. in the re-engined version. The speed of the re-engined Hampden is 340 m. p. h. if with 2,000 h. p. engines and 310 with 1,600 h. p.

The R. A. F. will also add to its squadrons later models from the United States. American aeroplanes are now going to England at the rate of perhaps 350 a month and the number is rising steadily. Among the new types are the Douglas D. B. 7, a high-powered version of the 325 m. p. h. Light Bomber built for France. Among other important types on order are a Consolidated B. 24, Boeing B. 17 and Martin 167 W (attack bomber). Deliveries of the first two will not however commence for sometime.

After discussing new German types the article concludes :—Whenever and wherever over England new Nazi war birds appear, it is a certainty that they will be met by new British craft in the same super-speed league. Lack of quality has not been the R. A. F. headache in this war and it does not look as though it will be at any time.

PROGRAMME OF LECTURES

OF THE

Pudukkottai War Information Bureau.

1941—

LECTURE XXVIII.

January	25, Saturday ...	Town Hall ...	6.30 p. m.
	26, Sunday ...	Rasiamangalam ...	9.45 a. m.
		Nanjoor ...	9.45 a. m.
		Vayalogam ...	9.45 a. m.
	27, Monday ...	Virachilai ...	5.00 p. m.
	28, Tuesday ...	College (A) English ...	10.25 a. m.
		Rani's School ...	10.25 a. m.
		Puduppatti (Ponnamaravathi).	5.30 p. m.
		Adanakkottai ...	5.30 p. m.
		Rayavaram ...	5.30 p. m.
	29, Wednesday.	College (B) Tamil ...	10.25 a. m.
		Kilanilai ...	5.30 p. m.
	31, Friday ...	C. S. M. School ...	10.00 a. m.

LECTURE XXIX.

February	1, Saturday ...	Town Hall ...	6.30 p. m.
	2, Sunday ...	Venkatakulam ...	9.45 a. m.
		Muslim Association, Pudukkottai.	5.00 p. m.
		Tiruvappur ...	5.00 p. m.
	3, Monday ...	College (B) Tamil ...	10.25 a. m.
		Rani's School ...	10.25 a. m.
		Panayappatti ...	5.30 p. m.
		Annavasal ...	5.30 p. m.
	4, Tuesday ...	College (A) English ...	10.25 a. m.
		Kiranur ...	5.30 p. m.
		Odayalippatti ...	5.30 p. m.
	5, Wednesday.	Yembal ...	5.30 p. m.
	6, Thursday ...	Vegupatti ...	5.30 p. m.
		Arimalam ...	5.30 p. m.
		Teachers' Association, Pudukkottai.	3.30 p. m.
	7, Friday ...	C. S. M. School ...	10.00 a. m.

HELP IN THE DEFENCE OF INDIA

By Regularly Buying

DEFENCE SAVINGS STAMPS

Available at Post Offices.

For those who cannot afford to buy a ten-rupee Defence Savings Certificate in a single payment, the Government of India has issued DEFENCE SAVINGS STAMPS in denominations of Re. 1, 8 annas and 4 annas, and has also issued DEFENCE SAVINGS CARDS on which space is provided for *affixing these stamps.* When Rs. 10 worth of stamps has been collected, the card may be taken to the Post Office and exchanged for a Defence Savings Certificate.

Cards and Stamps may be obtained from any Post Office which does Savings Bank business.

Each holder of a Defence Savings Card should put his name and address on the card in addition to his signature or thumb impression before any stamps are affixed. This precaution should be taken for the protection of the holder.

Defence Savings Certificates are available in amounts of Rs. 10, Rs. 50, Rs. 100, Rs. 500 redeemable at the end of 10 years at Rs. 13-9 for each Rs. 10 invested, yielding approximately 3¼ per cent., compound interest free of income-tax. An investment which cannot depreciate. Maximum individual holding Rs. 5,000. Apply to the nearest Post Office.

Issued by the War Savings Movement, Post Box 11, Madras.

Sri Brihadamba State Press, Pudukkottai, 1,800—25-1-41.